



## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 3/10

## (a) KRILDHUNG and (b) MURRKANGGA

(last edited: 22/4/2016)

see also PNS 4.03.02/06 Lukar-Luki

**Abstract**

*Krildhung* (or “*Ka`reildung*”, as Tindale published it) is a Ngarrindjeri word but not a place-name. It is Tindale’s mistaken adaptation of a Ngarrindjeri verb.

Tindale claimed that the Ngarrindjeri name “*Ka`reildung*” (today’s spelling probably *Krildhung*) was given by Albert Karlowan in the 1930s as a place-name for Tjirbuki’s spring “near” Hallett Cove. When Tjilbruki sat there and wept over the dead body of his beloved nephew, his tears formed a spring of fresh water which was an essential reason for a campsite there.

Tindale’s later records seemed to imply that this spring and its associated campsite were at the Cove, near the mouth of the Field River and probably on the main beach. However, there seems to be no evidence there for such a spring and campsite. A more likely location is near the mouth of Waterfall Creek, a kilometre north in the Conservation Park. Here a spring in the creek is surrounded by a large area of campsites, both very ancient and relatively recent, which were examined and recorded by archaeologists.

In fact Karlowan did not give any language name for this place; he spoke only of Tjirbuki ‘crying’ (*krildhun*) at it. There is no known evidence for an original Aboriginal place-name at this location, neither Kurna (from the original occupants) nor Ngarrindjeri (from post-contact times when Ngarrindjeri speakers used the land freely after the Kurna speakers were decimated and dispersed).

<b>Coordinates</b>	Latitude -35.071813°, Longitude 138.497987° [approximate location of the spring near the mouth of Waterfall Creek]
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**Language Information: (1) Krildhung**

<b>Meaning</b>	probably ‘wailing place’
<b>Etymology</b>	probably <i>krildhun</i> ‘wailing’ + <i>-ungg</i> ‘at, place of’ > <i>krildhungg</i>
<b>Notes</b>	This noun seems to have been invented by Tindale from the verb <i>krildhun</i> given by Karlowan.
<b>Language Family</b>	Yaraldic: ‘Ngarrindjeri’
<b>KWP Former Spelling</b>	
<b>KWP New Spelling 2010</b>	
<b>Phonemic Spelling</b>	
<b>Syllables</b>	“ <i>Krildh-ung</i> ” or “ <i>K-rildh-ung</i> ”:
<b>Pronunciation tips</b>	The initial cluster ‘K’ may be separated ‘K-r’, or not. Stress the syllable ‘Kril’ or ‘ril’. ‘dh’ is a <i>d</i> with tongue between teeth (interdental). ‘u’ as in ‘put’.



## Language Information (2): Karildilla

In 1999-2000 KWP made an attempt to “Kaurna-ize” place-names such as this which had been recorded on Kaurna country from Ngarrindjeri informants. Using known Kaurna language rules, the sounds of Tindale’s word “Ka`reildung” were converted into Kaurna form as *Karildilla*.<sup>1</sup>

Meaning	‘place of <i>karildV</i> ’
Etymology	<i>karildV</i> [meaning unknown; V = unknown vowel] + <i>ngga</i> ‘at’
Notes	
Language Family	Thura-Yura: ‘Kaurna’
KWP Former Spelling	Karildilla
KWP New Spelling 2010	Karildilla
Phonemic Spelling	
Syllables	“ <i>Karil-dilla</i> ”:
Pronunciation tips	Stress 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable. Secondary stress on 3 <sup>rd</sup> syllable. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori ‘haka’.

## Language Information (3): Murrkangga

In 2008 KWP took the alleged Ngarrindjeri place-name *Krildhung* and its meaning as analysed here, and translated it into Kaurna language as *Murrkangga*, ‘place of tears or crying’.<sup>2</sup>

They applied it to The Amphitheatre at Hallett Cove.

Meaning	‘place of lamentation’
Etymology	<i>Murrka</i> ‘weeping, lamentation’ + <i>ngga</i> ‘at, place of’ > <i>Murrkangga</i>
Notes	
Language Family	Thura-Yura: ‘Kaurna’
KWP Former Spelling	<i>Murkangga</i>
KWP New Spelling 2010	<i>Murrkangga</i>
Phonemic Spelling	/murrkangka/
Syllables	“ <i>Murr-ka-ngga</i> ”:
Pronunciation tips	Stress 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable. ‘u’ as in ‘put’. ‘rr’ rolled as in Scottish. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori ‘haka’.

<sup>1</sup> See Amery 2001, ‘Reclaiming Kaurna Language’, in Holdfast Bay Reconciliation Group and Georgina Yambo Williams 2001, *Footprints In The Sand*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed revised (Holdfast Bay Reconciliation Group, [Adelaide]: 38.

<sup>2</sup> KWP Minutes 22/2/2008.

Coordinates	Latitude -35.076330°, Longitude 138.496330° [Amphitheatre]
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## Main source evidence

Date	1936
Original source text	<p>“When the body had been smoked [at ‘Marino’] [Tji:rbuki] said, “I go back now”. Carrying his [na:ŋari] he walked along the coast until he came to <b>a place near Hallett’s Cove</b>, where he rested with his burden. As he reclined he began to think about his nephew, and <b>burst out crying [ka`reildun] [‘n’ sic]</b><sup>(15)</sup>. The tears ran down his face, and where they fell to the ground a spring of water welled up; the natives go there to camp because of the spring.”</p> <p>n(15) “The indeterminate vowel sound ə and the consonant d have not hitherto been used in our transcriptions. The latter is a d sound pronounced with the tongue placed in a position between the teeth and indicated in our notation by an italicized d...”</p>
Reference	Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale and Mountford 1936, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, <i>Records of SA Museum</i> Vol. 5 (4): 500-1.
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	[c.1940] / 1993
Original source text	<p>- [Tjirbuki at Kingston Park] “When the body was adequately smoked and the flesh hardened, he prepared it for carrying. He took it to a place nearby, put it down and cried. His tears made the spring at <b>Hallett’s Cove</b>. He went on to Tainbarang (Port Noarlunga)...”</p> <p>- “spring / Hallett’s Cove” [marked on map]</p>
Reference	RM Berndt & CH Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was</i> : 234, 330.
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [?1960s ?1980s]
Original source text	<p>“<b>Ka`reildun</b>” [d = ‘d’ with a vertical stroke or curve under; ‘n’ sic] [arrow to Field River mouth at printed ‘Hallett’s Cove’, with a blob which probably means ‘spring’ or ‘campsite’]</p>
Reference	Tindale annotated map, ‘Summary of Kaurna area’, AA 338/16/8 SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



Date	1987
Original source text	<p>- [at Kingston Park camp, Tjirbruki saw tracks of male emu:] "For a while he continued to fish... Then Tjirbruki left, following the track of his <i>kari</i> along the coast to <b>[Ka`reilĎun]</b> [phonetic 'ŋ' sic = ng; Ď = small 'd' with inverted caret] (<b>Hallett Cove</b>) and on to [Tainba`raŋ], now Port Noarlunga..."</p> <p>- [after inquest at Kingston Park] "Carrying his burden, now a dry compact parcel, Tjirbruki said, 'I go back now!' He departed, walking along the coast to <b>[Ka`reilĎun]</b> [sic as above], now called <b>Hallett Cove</b>, where he rested. As he reclined he began to think about his nephew, and <b>burst into crying [ka`reilĎun]</b> [normal 'n' sic]. Tears ran down his face and where they fell to the ground a spring of water welled up (thus the spot became a camping place). Tjirbruki then journeyed to [Tainba`ra:ŋ]..."</p>
Reference	Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings Of Tjirbruki: a tale of the Kaurna people of Adelaide', <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 20: 7a, 8b.
Informants credited	In general, Milerum, Karlowan, and others
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [1980s?]
Original source text	<b>"Ka`reildun"</b> [d = small 'd' with understroke; phonetic ŋ sic = 'ng'] [arrow to Section 568 at printed 'Hallett Cove']
Reference	Tindale annotated map, County Adelaide AA 338/24/107.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	After 1987
Original source text	<p><b>"Ka`reilĎun</b> [Ď = small 'd' with inverted caret; ŋ sic] Hallett Cove, <b>Section 568 and vicinity</b>, Hd of Noarlunga. Site of a widespread camping area of the late Pleistocene Kartan aborigines who evidently exploited the seaworn pebbles of Mesozoic glacial origin as tools. Two present day camps are present. Source of the pebbles is an ancient glacial deposit. Tindale 1987 Rec.SA.Mus 20:7. Tindale ms. Cooper, HM 1959 Trans.Roy.Soc.SA 82:55."</p>
Reference	Tindale Kaurna place-name card in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



## “Ka`reildun”, “Ka`reildun̩”, KRILDHUN AND KRILDHUNG: discussion:

This item comes from only one source – Tindale’s reportage of the Ngarrindjeri Elder Albert Karlowan – and it is closely associated with the story of Tjilbruke. Tindale’s 1936 version of the story is credited explicitly to Karlowan.<sup>3</sup> In the much longer 1987 essay by Tindale, this part of the tale – the first stages of Tjilbruki’s journey carrying the smoke-dried body of his nephew southward down the coast of St Vincent’s Gulf – clearly also comes from Karlowan, as the two versions are the same almost word-for-word for most of the way from Kingston Park down to Sellicks Beach.<sup>4</sup> Karlowan told the story again for RM Berndt around 1940, including the Hallett Cove episode.<sup>5</sup>

For Berndt he mentioned neither the *verb* ‘kareildun’ (‘to cry’) nor any *name* in the language for Hallett Cove. Further analysis (below) suggests that he probably did not mention any such *name* for Tindale either, despite the fact that Tindale in his later records used a variant spelling “Ka`reildun̩” (= Ka`reildhung) as a noun and place-name.

### WHERE WAS TJIRBUKI’S SPRING?

Where did the event happen? Where is the spring? Where is the associated campsite?

The answers are less evident than we might expect.

Berndt reports that from Kingston Park Tjirbuki took the body southward to “a place nearby”, where he cried and “his tears made the spring at Hallett’s Cove”.<sup>6</sup> It would be unwise to read this as implying an obvious and specific site on the beach at the Cove. Karlowan’s geography is not detailed but obviously generalized from a distance; his country was from Raukkan to Murray Bridge. His Yaraldi text does not mention any particular place between Kingston Park and Ochre Cove,<sup>7</sup> so he must have mentioned Hallett Cove in conversation outside the narrative, as no doubt he did with Tindale.

<sup>3</sup> Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale & Mountford, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, *Records of SA Museum* Vol. 5 (4): 500-1. Cp. “Ka`reildun” (with a normal *d* and *n*) in a MS draft of this essay (Tindale [1935-6?], ‘The story of Tji:rbuki’... from Karlowan and notes from Milerum’, in Notes on the Kurna, AA 338/1/35: 81).

<sup>4</sup> Tindale 1987, ‘The Wanderings of Tjirbruki: a tale of the Kurna people of Adelaide’, *Records of SA Museum*, No. 20: 8b.

<sup>5</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 234, 446.

<sup>6</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 234 (my emphasis).

<sup>7</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 446; see also PNS 4.03.02/06 Lukar-Luki.

But Tindale's records begin with a difference. In his first write-up in 1936 he reports Karlowan as saying that Tjirbuki wept at "a place near Hallett's Cove", and that the resulting spring is the basis for a campsite in that place.

In all of Tindale's later records 'near' is omitted – probably forgotten – and the place becomes simply 'Hallett Cove'. Yet the difference is important.

Important also is the fact that no Aboriginal name for Hallett Cove occurs in either of the accounts recorded between 1935 and 1940.

What is 'Hallett Cove' in these records? If taken as a general locality or suburb, it covers large differences in terrain. By contrast, we may be sure that in the context of the story Aboriginal people would name a specific campsite rather than the whole diverse area.

The little Cove proper has a low fore-dune and beach extending from the mouth of the Field River to Black Point 1.1 km north. At the southern end there is a small flat foreshore area immediately north of the mouth, exposed to winds from NW to SW. It is backed closely by a long stretch of hill slopes facing southwest, i.e. exposed in winter, but with no safe and commanding site near water.

The locality surrounding this Cove is quite different. South and north of it the coast has little or no beach; especially to the north, steep cliffs are backed by a plateau with more rising ground above that, intersected with gullies.

#### AT THE COVE:

Most of the records of the Hallett Cove spring associated with Tjirbuki seem to imply that the spring and campsite are in the Cove, on or next to the main beach.

One of Tindale's place-name cards locates Ka`reilDun at "Section 568 & vicinity",<sup>8</sup> i.e. at the southern end of the main beach, on the north side of the Field River mouth. This seems to imply a 'beach spring' there.<sup>9</sup> He adds a note that it is the "Site of a widespread camping area of the late Pleistocene Kartan aborigines... Two present day camps are present" – which implies that all these campsites are at or very near the same place.

Likewise, other literature about old campsites often leaves us in the dark about Tjirbuki's spring, saying no more than 'at Hallett Cove' or e.g. "There were... at least a dozen large sites in the vicinity of Hallett Cove".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Tindale Kurna place-name card [522] "Ka`reilDun".

<sup>9</sup> The plaque for the Tjilbruke Trail claims this explicitly: "It was on this beach that Tjilbruke created a freshwater spring which he gave to the people" (Tjilbruke plaque on Hallett Cove Foreshore on reserve at south end of Heron Way).

<sup>10</sup> Val Campbell, Oct 1981, 'Archaeology of the Southern Adelaide Region, Part 2', *J.Anthrop.Soc.SA* 19(8): 2.



But in a brief search of the archaeological literature I have not been able to find mention of either a spring or a campsite specifically located at the river mouth or the Cove beach. This flat area is backed closely by a long stretch of hill slopes facing west and southwest, i.e. exposed in winter, but with no safe and commanding site near water.

Nor has it been characterized by good fresh water, as far as I know, even though there are still pools and a few reeds at the mouth, and *“the final portion of the [Field] river is spring fed and flows into the Gulf St Vincent all year round”*.<sup>11</sup> A *“Freshwater spring”* site is mapped by Betty Ross (following archaeologist Val Campbell) more or less at the Field River, but the map is too small-scale to identify the exact location.<sup>12</sup> The same map shows an *“Aboriginal site”* which seems to be immediately south of the mouth, but this apparent location may be very generalized. Historically the river mouth has not been a reliable source of drinking water. In 1836 Lieutenant Pullen landed *“about seven miles to the southward of where we lay”* (Holdfast Bay) to examine *“a very pretty little bay [and]... a beautiful valley with a fine stream which... communicates with the sea only by filtering through sand and stones. The water as far as he went up it (which was not more than two cables length from the shore) was brackish”*.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, it is not evident or even likely that Karlowan himself actually believed that the spring was on the beach, nor that it was precisely ‘at’ the Cove itself. What he said to Tindale in 1935-6 was that it was *“near”* Hallett Cove. When Tindale came to write up many things for his Tjilbruki essay in the 1980s, among them was a new place-name *“Ka`reildun”*, the name of *“Hallett Cove”* itself. Did he forget Karlowan’s original statement, even as published in his own 1936 essay? Did he forget his own archaeological research a km north of the Cove in 1937?<sup>14</sup> Was he merely hasty and confused?<sup>15</sup> Probably he was content to leave the matter vague, even though he knew facts which could have clarified it. ‘Section 568’ on his card is probably nothing but an example of his habit of identifying a location by using survey figures; but we cannot trust them very far. Often they do *not* arise from exact field information but only from a modern scholar’s obsession with numbers. On his card he immediately adds *“and vicinity”*: he is in fact vague and misleading while appearing precise.

Accordingly, the idea that Tjirbuki’s spring at Hallett Cove was on the beach may be only an assumption implied by Tindale and followed by others after him.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Field River’, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Field\\_River](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Field_River) [15/4/16].

<sup>12</sup> Betty Ross 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places Around Metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*, Adelaide, Anthropological Society of SA: 20 map; cp. Val Campbell, Oct 1981, *J.Anthrop.Soc.SA* 19(8): 4, 7.

<sup>13</sup> John Woodforde diary 6 Oct 1836, PRG 502/1: 26-7, State Library of SA. Pullen and Woodforde were in the *Rapid* with Colonel Light seeking a good harbour for the capital city. The river was not given an English name at this stage.

<sup>14</sup> He had marked it on one of his maps (‘5: Brighton’ in Tindale hand-bound book of maps AA 338/16/30), written it up in his unpublished papers (Tindale ‘Trip to Halletts Cove 27.7.1937’, in Notes On The Kurna, AA 338/1/35: 148) and published it (Tindale 1937, ‘Relationship of the extinct Kangaroo Island culture with cultures of Australia, Tasmania and Malaya’, *Records of SA Museum* 6: 40, 54).

<sup>15</sup> Tindale’s 1987 essay contains many such vague or inaccurate details, which also he presumably did not check.

## WATERFALL CREEK:

On the other hand, there *were* campsites and a spring ‘near Hallett’s Cove’: they were at Waterfall Creek in the Conservation Park, half a km north of the end of the main beach. Ancient and recent camps were recorded here, mostly on the north side of the creek. They were 30 to 60 metres above the sea on a hill behind cliffs of 15 metres or more, below which is a small pebbly beach, accessible only via the steep gully of the creek. The only spring site of which I read in the Hallett Cove neighbourhood is somewhere in this gully, not *on* a beach but *near* one. The creek is fed by springs and also has (or had) waterholes further upstream in a gorge.<sup>16</sup> The higher campsites are very ancient. Two isolated sites from more recent times – Tindale the archaeologist calls them “*present day*” but he means ‘sometime in the last 2,000 years’ – are located on the cliff-top above the pebble beach; these were probably lookout camps for observing the migration of fish, especially salmon and mulloway.<sup>17</sup>

I note also that I am not the first to draw this conclusion. George Woolmer (conservationist, teacher, historian, State secondary adviser in Aboriginal education in the 1980s) believed that the “*Tjilbruke site*” in this area was “*Waterfall Creek*” – not ‘Hallett Creek’ or Field River.<sup>18</sup>

## THE WORD: ONE NGARRINDJERI VERB, NO PLACE-NAME:

Tjirbuki might wail indeed for much more than his murdered nephew. Long before Karlowan told of these tears at this spring, the Crown had on-sold it and its associated campsites to the Hallett brothers, and its true name disappeared forever from human memory. For not only is “*Ka`reildun / Ka`reildun*” not Kurna, it is not a place-name, and the noun form appears to be Tindale’s invention.

Karlowan was a Ngarrindjeri man and spoke Ngarrindjeri, a language quite different from Kurna.

It appears that originally in the 1930s Tindale recorded only the verb “*ka`reildun*” (with no capital, and ending with a normal English-style ‘n’, as many Ngarrindjeri verbs do);<sup>19</sup> and that much later

<sup>16</sup> It is said (vaguely) that there is “*a little spring inland along Waterfall Creek*”, and further upstream “*a series of connecting water-holes in a small gorge*” near the railway line (Harold M Cooper, ‘The Record of Man’, in HM Cooper, M Kenny & JM Scrymgeour 1970, *Hallett Cove: A Field Guide*, Adelaide, SA Museum: 27). See also Tindale 1937 above. The creek has been dammed not far upstream.

<sup>17</sup> “*Milerum... indicated that Mulloway fishing was ‘one of the many attractions of a very desirable campsite*”, cited in Val Campbell, March 1979, ‘Archaeological reconstruction of coastal sites south of Adelaide’, *J.Anthrop.Soc.SA* 17(1): 5; cp. pp.7-8. See also HM Cooper *loc cit.*: 26-7, 30, 51 (aerial photograph).

<sup>18</sup> George Woolmer 1984, ‘The Adelaide Region: Its Environment and Animals’, in ASTRU / Aboriginal Community College 1985, *Kurna Seasonal Trail Excursion: Teacher’s Handbook*, Port Adelaide, Aboriginal Community College: 61. For some decades in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the Field River was temporarily re-named ‘Hallett Creek’.





(probably in the 1980s) he gave it a capital K and replaced the final *n* with the phonetic symbol *ŋ*, which looks very similar but means *ng* as in ‘sing’.<sup>20</sup> These changes transform the common verb-ending *-un* into *-ung*, one of the recorded forms of the Ngarrindjeri Locative suffix (cp, *-angk*, etc), and turns the verb into a noun, “*Ka`reildun*” (= *Ka`reildhung*), which in these records Tindale says is the *name of the place*.

### A DIGRESSION ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF TINDALE’S USE OF THIS WORD:

Tindale’s first mapping of most of his Aboriginal place-names was done in the 1930s on his largest-scale maps, the maps of Hundreds; in many cases these brief annotations were the only primary record. Only later were these transferred to smaller-scale maps for use in the 1980s in work such as his unfinished Place-names Gazetteer. Many of the names were obtained from Karlowan, notably during sessions with him in December 1935 devoted to mapping them along the Gulf coast from Adelaide southward.<sup>21</sup> The relevant annotated map, Hundred of Noarlunga, has a note credited to “*Karlowan Dec 1935*”.<sup>22</sup> Yet there is no Aboriginal name marked at the printed “Hallett’s Cove”; nothing except the line of a route from Glenelg, which may be that of his archaeological excursion of July 1937, since it includes a detour to Waterfall Creek on Section 562. It is almost certain that by December 1935 Karlowan had given Tindale the story of Tjirbuki (though I have not found the original notes to prove this timing). If he had known a place-name for Hallett Cove, he would certainly have given it then and it would appear on this map. But Tindale did not map it until he was producing his “Tindale S Map: Summary of Kaurna area”.<sup>23</sup> undated but probably a prelude to work on the later essay about ‘Tjirbuki’ which would be published in 1987. On this map he gives the word a capital K (obviously thinking of it now as a place-name), but retains the normal *n*. When he next refers to Hallett Cove, and thereafter, the word always ends with a phonetic *ŋ* (see footnote above).

We don’t know whether Tindale made this change inadvertently – perhaps by misreading his early records when he came back to write up the story again in the 1980s – or by a conscious analytical decision. Either way, it has no credibility. There is no known primary record that Karlowan ever used this noun. He told the same story to Berndt without naming the place at all in his Ngarrindjeri-language narrative text, and it seems that both Berndt and Tindale knew it was Hallett Cove only through conversations in English.

Karlowan’s account focussed mainly on the springs and how they were created from the tears. He used the noun *luki* (‘tears’, plural *lukar*), and various forms of a verb ‘to cry’. This emphasis – and perhaps some conversational habit of Karlowan’s when referring to these places: perhaps ‘at the wailing’ or such – led both Tindale and Berndt into analogous errors about place-names.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Tindale 1935-6 in ‘Notes on the Kaurna’: 81; Tindale 1936, *Rec.SAMuseum* 5(4): 500; annotated map [1960s?] ‘Summary of Kaurna area’, AA 338/16/8.

<sup>20</sup> Tindale 1987: 7a, 8b; annotated maps [1980s?] County Adelaide AA 338/24/107 and County Adelaide AA 338/24/107; Kaurna place-name card [522] “*Ka`reildun*” [after 1987] in AA 338/7/1/12.

<sup>21</sup> “*Dec. 19<sup>th</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> 1935 Worked at odd times on several days with Karlowan... We placed put numbers of new place names on the map including a series along the coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide...*” (Tindale MS, ‘Murray River notes’, AA 338/1/31/1: 197).

<sup>22</sup> Tindale annotated maps Hundred of Noarlunga, AA 338/24/72 and /73.

<sup>23</sup> AA 338/16/8.

<sup>24</sup> Berndt also mistook *luki* for a place-name: see PNS 4.03.02/06 Lukar-Luki.



Accordingly we shall ignore Tindale's noun from here on, and, instead, examine the 'crying' verbs.

The word he originally recorded from Karlowan as "*ka`reildun*" (= 'Ka`reildhun')<sup>25</sup> is a verb which he says means 'crying' or 'bursting into crying'. It fits no known Kurna vocabulary,<sup>26</sup> and in Ngarrindjeri no matching vocabulary for the first two syllables was recorded at first contact.

Consistently marked in all Tindale's records of both forms is a stress on the second syllable. This is unusual in most Aboriginal languages but possible in Ngarrindjeri, where such words can be pronounced with or without the first vowel, creating a 'consonant cluster', e.g. in this case *kr*.<sup>27</sup> We therefore have the verb *k`rildhun* or *krildhun*. For us this is a newly-discovered piece of vocabulary. First-contact Ngarrindjeri sources gave quite unrelated words for 'crying, mourning, weeping, lamenting' etc,<sup>28</sup> but no word translated as 'wailing'. The only similar word is *krildulun* 'driving away, driving fish', which is clearly not what Karlowan meant here.<sup>29</sup>

In his verbatim text of the Tjirbuki story in the Yaraldi dialect,<sup>30</sup> he uses several words with meanings related to 'crying', which Berndt distinguishes to some extent in translation as follows:

- *prapung* 'crying' and 'cried'; *prapuramb* 'crying (mourning)'; *prapurambul* 'crying',<sup>31</sup> all used for the crying of Tjirbuki at the death of his nephew.
- *wongkun* 'crying and 'cried', as Tjirbuki at the end of his cave journey goes up, emerges into the light, and sees that he has turned into a bird. Here 'cry' probably has the sense of 'cry out, call out'.
- and (most interestingly) *k`relkundin*, *k`relkundenang*, *k`relkunin*, and *k`relkunanang*, all translated 'wailing', and again all used for the weeping of Tjirbuki.

The last two, *wongkun* and the *k`relkundin* family, seem to have eluded all other collectors of Ngarrindjeri vocabulary.

<sup>25</sup> Tindale 1936 specifies an interdental 'd', and he seems to insist on it in his various records, though he notates it in three different ways which I have represented here as *d*, *ḍ* and *ḏ*. Today we would probably spell it *dh*. However, the pronunciation of the *d* does not affect my argument.

<sup>26</sup> We can discount Kurna *kari* 'emu', since Tindale marks a stress on the second syllable, not the first as in `kari. (Stresses are marked here by the backward-sloping stroke ` at the beginning of the stressed syllable. Tindale used a similar forward-sloping stroke for this purpose.)

<sup>27</sup> Many Ngarrindjeri words have been recorded with variant pronunciations of an initial consonant cluster, with or without a liminal vowel inserted (see M Gale 2009, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary*); e.g. *wrukun* / *wurukkun*; *prolgi* / *porolgi*; *krauli* / *karowali*; *krawi* / *karawi*; *krayi* / 'kurraye'.

<sup>28</sup> *ngirun*, *nyirun*, *parpun*, *plowalun*, *yanggulun*.

<sup>29</sup> Taplin 1879. Again we may discount Kurna language, as consonant clusters at the beginning of a word are extremely rare and do not include *kr*, only *tr*.

<sup>30</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 445-7.

<sup>31</sup> Probably these are variants of Ngarrindjeri *parpun* 'crying, lamenting, mourning', as recorded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Since Berndt did not try to distinguish different kinds of *d*, interdental or otherwise, we can ignore the distinction. In *k'relkundin* and its variants he uses an elision sign, signifying that it sounds as though it is omitting a vowel; it could therefore be spelled *kə`relkundin* or *ka`relkundin*.<sup>32</sup> Allowing for a range of vowel pronunciations and for colloquial shortening, possible variants of this word could include *ka`reldin* or *ka`rildin* or Tindale's *ka`rildun*.<sup>33</sup>

Following Berndt's translation from Karlowan, this verb family seems refers to a particular kind of 'crying' for which no word has previously been available to the Ngarrindjeri language reclaimers: the formal wailing chant for the dead. It is unclear how this might differ from *prapung* and its variants.

## POSTLUDE:

To restore the Kurna language to this place which was on Kurna land at first contact, KWP has tried two methods.

In 2000-1 they adapted the *sound* of 'Ka`reidung' into Kurna form, following Kurna language rules, as *Karildilla*.<sup>34</sup>

In 2008 they adopted my analysis of the hypothetical noun *K'rildhung*, and translated its *meaning* into Kurna language as *Murrkangga*, 'place of weeping or wailing': a new name in the old tongue for an old place with an old story. They applied this name especially to The Amphitheatre, behind the main beach half a km south of Waterfall Creek.<sup>35</sup>

.....  
*End of Summary*

<sup>32</sup> The phonetic symbol ə (the schwa) represents a 'neutral vowel' as in 'forgotten'. Amateur records may represent it by various letters, most commonly 'a'.

<sup>33</sup> Tindale's recorded diphthong 'ei' might be interpreted as either *e* or *i*. Probably *k'relkundin* and *k'rildhun* are variants of the same word, with *e*, *i* and *ei* all being allowable variant pronunciations of the stressed vowel. Unlike Kurna, Ngarrindjeri has both *i* and *e* as separable phonemes; but there was much variation even in the pronunciation of one word (Karlowan has many variant pronunciations in his texts). The last vowel is unstressed, and might easily be recorded as either *i* or *u*.

<sup>34</sup> *Karildilla* assumes a three-syllable root word *KarildV*. In my analysis *Krildhung* has a two-syllable root, which might be adapted into Kurna either (1) as *Krildhungga*; or (2) as *Karildhilla*, to avoid the cluster *kr*. Kurna language very rarely uses a consonant cluster like 'kr-'. When importing one from another language, it inserts a vowel into the cluster as 'kar-'. In the process, the word-rhythm of the original is distorted: the stress changes to the *first* syllable, and the root word becomes three syllables in Kurna, *Karild(u)*, instead of the two in Ngarrindjeri, *Krildun*; so that the locative ending has to be *-illa*, rather than a hypothetical *Krildu-ngga*.

A similar thing happened with Ramindjeri *Ram-ong*: since Kurna does not begin words with an *r*, it was adapted into Kurna in the 1830s as *Wirra-mu'illa* (not *Ramungga*).

See Rob Amery 2001, 'Reclaiming Kurna Language', in Holdfast Bay Reconciliation Group and Georgina Yambo Williams 2001, *Footprints In The Sand*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed revised (Holdfast Bay Reconciliation Group, [Adelaide]: 38; and PNS 7.02/01 Ramong-Wirramulla.

<sup>35</sup> KWP Minutes 22/2/2008.